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served. In fact, the movement has ceased to exist by tolerance, and is now firmly established in public confidence and support.

To justify these statements we need only refer again to the recent meetings held—the twelfth International Peace Congress, the twenty-first conference of the International Law Association, the tenth conference of the Interparliamentary Peace Union, the Mohonk Arbitration Conference (the largest ever held) earlier in the year, the French National Peace Congress, and other similar meetings, annual assemblies, banquets, etc.—in England, Italy, Germany, Switzerland and other countries. The details of these meetings, some of them most remarkable, are too fresh in the memory of our readers to need repeating.

On the side of governmental support and the practical application of the principles and methods so long advocated by the friends of peace, the year has seen a striking development. The demonstration made by French and English statesmen at the time of the visit of the delegation of French Deputies to the British House of Commons was unparalleled, and proved how deeply the new ideas have penetrated government and legislative circles. The same fact has been brought out by the unequivocal support given to the principle of arbitration by the heads of European States during their recent exchange of visits. Further must be cited the strong support of the Hague Court and of arbitration in general by our own government at the time of the Venezuelan trouble, resulting, with the aid of public sentiment throughout the entire civilized world, in the forcing of violence to abandon the field and to leave the adjustment of the claims against Venezuela to the determination of law and equity. The eleven powers interested proceeded to create arbitral commissions to determine the amount of claims to be paid, and the question of preferential treatment of the blockading powers was carried by them to the International Tribunal. This event itself,—eleven of the principal powers of the world before a great world court of their own creating,—pronounced by Count Mouravieff the most sublime manifestation of the mission of arbitration,—is enough to distinguish the year beyond all previous ones in history.

Meanwhile a number of other arbitrations of greater or less importance have been in progress, and several mixed commissions have been dealing with the delimitation of frontiers and other international differences. These cases have numbered more than a dozen for the year, the most important of them being the Alaska boundary dispute, which has finally been settled and removed from the field of controversy.

The year closes with a treaty of obligatory arbitration between France and Great Britain signed and proclaimed to the world, the first treaty of the kind ever entered into by two powers of the first rank.

This treaty, which recognizes the Hague Court and gives it its rightful place in the relations of the nations, is being followed up by negotiations for similar treaties between France and Italy, France and Holland, France and Denmark, France and Norway and Sweden, and Great Britain and Italy. Some of these treaties may possibly be completed and announced before the end of this December.

We do not blind our eyes to the sorrowful facts of the opposite kind of which the year has unfortunately had all too many. The old things have not yet passed away—certainly not. But the events, cited above, of the new order which is ultimately to drive completely out the old spirit and institutions of animosity and war, have been too numerous and conspicuous during the year to leave any doubt in reasonable minds where the victory, complete and final, is soon to lie. If the angels of heaven do not sing with fuller voice than usual their song of peace on earth and goodwill among men as the Christmas time approaches this year, we men here on earth at any rate may “rejoice with exceeding great joy” that the hour draweth nigh at last of complete deliverance from the “curse of curses,” which has bled humanity white, exhausted its resources and immensely clogged its material and moral progress from the very dawn of human history.

Editorial Notes.

Imperial Visitations. The mutual visits of the European emperors, kings and presidents are now over for the season, it seems. They will doubtless begin again next spring, as the ancient military campaigns were wont to do after the troops had lain on their arms for the winter. At least we hope so, for immense good is sure to come of them. So long as emperors and kings continue to exist, no better service can be rendered by them. These imperial visits are one of the encouraging signs of these latter days. They are made, it seems, in a genuinely friendly spirit, and are contributing their quota to the better understanding and the more amicable feeling steadily growing among the nations.

The exchange of visits by King Edward and President Loubet did much to hasten the completion of the Anglo-French arbitration treaty. It is reported from Paris that the visits of President Loubet to Rome and of King Victor Emmanuel to the French metropolis have made the negotiation of an arbitration treaty between Italy and France certain. In fact, the treaty is already being drafted and its announcement may be expected any day. And now comes a dispatch from Rome, from the correspondent of the *London Daily Mail*, under date of November 23, that at the recent conference of King Victor Emmanuel and King Edward at Windsor a permanent Anglo-Italian arbitration treaty was approved by

both monarchs. It is all very gratifying that these heads of state are thus making themselves the mouthpieces of the public opinion which is so rapidly becoming overmastering in their respective countries. We hope the happy idea may fall into the head of some one of them next season to get all the emperors, kings and presidents together — say at The Hague — and see if they cannot go a step further and propose to all the governments a convention to rid the world of the accumulating mischief of great armaments that would be worthy of their august positions, and the peoples would follow them.

Return Visit to French Deputies. The visit to London of French Senators and Deputies belonging to the International Arbitration Group has just been returned by a number of members of the British Parliament, accompanied by their wives and daughters. On the afternoon of November 26 they were received by President and Mrs. Loubet at the Elysée. The address for the British deputation was made by Lord Brassey. President Loubet, in replying, said he hoped that the example set by the two great nations of western Europe in signing an arbitration treaty would be generally followed. In the evening of the same day a great banquet was given the English visitors, at which the principal speakers were Messrs. Berthelot and Jaurès. Mr. Berthelot, in his address, said that he rejoiced at the signing of the treaty between Great Britain and France, and added: "No doubt the United States will willingly join us." The French Premier, Mr. Combes, said that possibly the day was not far distant when England and France would agree to submit all their differences to arbitration. In proposing the health of King Edward, he declared that it was to him that they owed this agreement.

Italy and France.

Victor Emmanuel, during his recent visit to Paris, replying to the welcome of President Loubet, said:

"*Mr. President:* The very kind words with which you have just addressed me increase the lively satisfaction which I feel at this moment. The enthusiastic reception which the city of Paris and the whole of France have given to the Queen and myself has profoundly touched us. Like you, Mr. President, I see in such a reception something more than a simple demonstration of that exquisite politeness which is one of the traditional qualities of the noble French nation. With reason France considers my presence in Paris as the natural result of the work of *rapprochement* happily accomplished between the two countries. The interests of Italy lead her to desire with all her might the preservation of peace, and her position in Europe enables her to contribute by her attitude to the realization of this

highly humanitarian result. It is towards this aim that my most ardent aspirations are directed, as well as the constant efforts of my government. I know that my sentiments are shared by France and by the government of the Republic."

This is reassuring, because the King of Italy's sentiments are known to be in perfect accord with his words. His influence in his own country is toward a pacific policy, and, better still, a policy of reduction of armaments and of war budgets. On this latter policy Italy has already entered, in a quiet and moderate way, of which the press gives us no information. It is most gratifying to know that the estrangement between Italy and France which grew almost to the point of rupture during the belligerent premiership of Crispi has at last come to an end. The new friendship, furthermore, is likely to be lasting, because it is not the frothy expression of any political manœuvring, but has sprung largely from the movement, now widespread in both countries, for permanent peace among all peoples, founded upon justice, equity and the recognition of universal community of interests. The young king is but interpreting the growing new spirit of his people.

Work Among Women. The report of the special committee of the National Council of Women on the annual demonstration of women in behalf of peace and international arbitration for 1903 is a most interesting document. There was a larger participation of affiliated women's societies in the demonstration and the preparation for it than in any previous year, and a larger number of meetings held. Mrs. Sewall in her report says that practically all the Local Councils throughout the nation coöperated. She says it has been quite impossible to tabulate in full the results obtained,— and we can well believe it. The best part of any such work is usually incapable of being put into figures and formulas. The demonstrations took place on the 18th of May, the anniversary of the opening of the Hague Conference, or near that day. The resolutions previously prepared for submission to the meetings were voted at all those held, so far as heard from. In her comments on related work, Mrs. Sewall devotes a page to the movement for a regular international congress inaugurated by the American Peace Society through the Massachusetts Legislature, and characterizes this as "one of the most important steps taken in our country during the past year." The details of the work of the societies associated in Mrs. Sewall's committee are most interesting and encouraging, and any who care to look at them can procure a copy of the report by addressing her (Mrs. May Wright Sewall) at Indianapolis, Ind.

Reciprocity with Cuba. The special session of Congress, called by the President to take action on the matter of reciprocity with Cuba, met on the 9th of November. The reciprocity measure was prepared by the House and quickly passed by that body in a sensible and business-like way. It ought to have gone through the Senate in the same expeditious manner, but it did not. Few people thought it would. Besides the obstructions put in the way by those who are opposed to any reciprocity whatever with the island, the Senators who were offended because they were called in extra session set their heads together to teach the President a lesson by preventing the passing of the act until the regular session is under way. So the vote will not be taken till the 16th of December, when it is expected that a majority of the Senators will vote for the very modest measure of justice toward Cuba, which is all that it has been possible to wring from our dominant politics.

Japan and Russia. From the peace point of view the trouble between Russia and Japan in the extreme

East is, though painful, nevertheless most interesting and instructive. It illustrates almost better than any other situation in any part of the world the point of power to which the forces making for peace have come in international politics. The elements entering into the situation are the territorial greed of Russia, her purpose to have ample ice-free outlet on the Pacific for her eastern provinces, the military ambition of her army and navy leaders, the soreness of Japan towards Russia over the latter's action after the China-Japan war, Japan's desire to extend her influence to the continent west of her, the wish of her new army and navy—the wish perhaps of the people in general—to try themselves against some formidable antagonist; and, on the other hand, the fear of the disasters of a war with present perfected instruments, the desire for peace on the part of an intelligent and generous section of the statesmen and people of both countries, the watch of foreign nations for the maintenance of the rights of trade and commerce, the committal of both governments to the principle of arbitration through the work of the Hague Conference; and still further, what may be described as the general pressure of civilization upon both countries. Under the force of these divergent influences, the two nations have been for many months oscillating between the outbreak of war on the one hand and the permanent pacific arrangement of their differences on the other. So far war has been avoided; the forces which make for peace, including prudence and fear, have prevailed. The peaceful negotiations for settlement have gone on. And every day of delay makes war less and less likely. The danger is not yet passed, if recent reports over the cables can be

trusted. But that under all the circumstances the dogs of war have not long ago been let loose, that peace has held and that peaceful negotiations have not been broken off, is the most salient fact in the whole situation. It is beyond question a strong proof that the world has gone forward immensely since the days when vastly less causes of quarrel than those between Japan and Russia led, almost as a matter of course, to the most deadly and desolating wars. Japan and Russia may yet lose their heads, throw to the winds all restraint and plunge wildly into the beastly insanity of war, but we shall not believe that this will be the outcome, that war is inevitable between them, till we actually know that the "dance of blood" has begun. Heaven forbid that we be compelled to see such a monstrous spectacle at this late day.

Mouravieff's Opinion. Count Mouravieff, the Russian Minister of Justice, president of the Hague Venezuelan tribunal, has expressed the following interesting opinion on the Anglo-French Arbitration Treaty:

"I can judge of the Anglo-French Arbitration Treaty only by the text of it which has been given out. This has greatly pleased me, and for the following reasons:

"This convention is of incontestable value, and the newspapers have not sufficiently appreciated its significance. They have especially laid too much stress on its limitations, on those cases to which the convention is not applicable. My own opinion, however, is that it was well to limit the convention. When people grasp after everything, they as a rule get nothing. The peoples are not yet sufficiently prepared for arbitration. It would be useless to try to foresee all conflicts and to make the attempt to have them all adjusted through a written agreement. This would not only be aimless, but even dangerous. It showed very good sense, to limit the agreement to disputes of a judicial order and to such as have reference to the interpretation of existing treaties. This class of disputes is, however, quite numerous. Of a judicial order are all those disputes which involve a question of right, those disputes, hence, which relate to questions of indemnity, the determination of boundaries, etc. How many bloody wars have been enkindled by such disputes in the past! The diplomats who alone have heretofore handled these disputes have sometimes aggravated them to the point of war or prolonged them through centuries. They will now be laid before the permanent court of arbitration at The Hague, and men learned in the law, international justices, will take them in hand. The parties will be able to look forward with composure to the decision, which will be rendered without unnecessary delay."

Peace Sunday. We called attention in our last issue to the fact that Peace Sunday falls this year on the 20th of the present month, and that it is most desirable that all churches and ministers of the gospel and Sabbath Schools throughout the nation should,

on that day, wherever practicable, bring into special prominence the principles of love, goodwill and peace which the Founder of Christianity taught so forcibly and magnified so greatly in his life and death. If the Christian Church as a whole had done its duty in the past, no such thing as a Peace Sunday would ever have been thought of, because totally unnecessary. The very presence of such an institution among us is anything else but a tribute of credit to organized Christianity. Every Sunday ought always to have been to the professed followers of the Prince of Peace a peace Sunday,—and every day of the week, for that matter, a peace day. But it is most gratifying that in these last days so many Christian ministers and churches are awaking to a sense of their high obligations and privileges in regard to this commanding subject so long ignored or neglected, and that on this or some other convenient Sabbath or Sabbaths of the year they are giving something like adequate consideration to it. The institution originated with Christian peace workers of England, and was first promoted by the Peace Society, London, and by the London Peace Congress of 1890. It has since then made its way, though slowly and irregularly, into the United States, and still more slowly among the Christian churches of the Continental European nations. So far as we can learn, the day this year promises to be more largely and seriously observed than ever before. It certainly ought to be. Not only is the theme lofty and inspiring in itself, but the cause of peace among the nations has made such enormous strides in recent years through the rapid adoption of the method of arbitration and its organization into a permanent judicial system, that preaching on the subject ought now to be an easy and inspiring task. The American Peace Society will be glad to forward to ministers who will send a few stamps for postage a selection of pamphlets and leaflets that will aid them in making preparation for speaking on the subject.

A Quintuple Alliance. Are we at the beginnings of a pacific Quintuple Alliance of European powers, which will ultimately displace both the Triple and the Dual Alliances? Mr. A. H. Fried, editor of the *Friedens-Warte*, Berlin, is inclined to think we are, and believes that the recent visits of the European heads of State to one another's capitals point strongly in that direction. He writes thus in the *Friedens-Warte* for November 15:

"The speeches which were delivered at the Elysée at the time of the visit of the King of Italy to Paris, in which an entirely different tone was struck from the customary one on such occasions, the letter of the Czar to President Loubet, in which he expressed his joy over the *rapprochement* of France and Italy, and over the Anglo-French treaty of arbitration, the understanding

which was reached between Austria and Russia at Mürzsteg, and certainly also between Germany and Russia at Wiesbaden, show us that the Quintuple Alliance which we friends of peace have for years desired is on the way to be realized. The bridges which were made between the Dual Alliance and the Triple Alliance by the *rapprochement* between France and Italy, and by that between Austria and Russia, are bringing these two great groups of states in an unmistakable way toward unity. It only remains to construct the bridge which will bind France and Germany together to bring this great work to completion. That this bridge will be made appears to us, through the recent grouping of the Continental States and through the entrance therein of England, to be much more probable than it formerly was. Formerly the antagonism between France and Germany divided Europe into two hostile groups. It now appears as if the harmony of Europe would break down the opposition between these two great peoples, whose estrangement hitherto has unfortunately been to the serious injury of civilization."

This is a most hopeful view of the situation, and it cannot be denied that there is much of a substantial nature to justify it.

Richmond Pearson Hobson is in need of universal sympathy. His affliction, chronic *navalitis*, continues to grow in malignity, and it is difficult to see how even his heroic frame can long endure the strain. He has just completed a bill, the result of long and profound meditation, which he has commissioned a Southern Representative to introduce into Congress, for the purpose of making the United States the greatest naval power on earth. The bill makes a total appropriation of *two billion seven hundred and fifty million dollars* to be spent on the enlargement of the navy during the next eighteen years. The bill provides that fifty million dollars shall be spent during the present fiscal year, sixty millions next year, seventy millions the year after, and so on at an increase of ten millions per year till 1915. Then it is provided that a lump sum of *one billion five hundred millions* shall be appropriated to carry on the program to 1925. Ex-Captain Hobson hopes that Congress will, with hot enthusiasm, accept this astounding program and begin at once to carry it out. He does not tell us what we shall have to spend per year after 1925, when, if we carry out his program, the other nations, at least three of them, will have kept pace with us in naval expansion, and we shall be relatively no further along than now. He has been encouraged to present his scheme by the action, during recent years, of the government and many of the more conservative(?) naval promoters who believe in taking the nation Hobson's way, only at a considerably slower and less frightening pace. Hobson is a symptom which all true Americans would do well to study care-

fully. If he were alone, if his scheme came wholly from his own overheated imagination, no attention would need to be paid to his extravagant effusions. But that which is behind him, of which he has made himself the nosiest and most insistent exponent, is a very serious condition, and constitutes the greatest peril but one that has ever hung over the nation.

Brevities.

. . . The "Republican Committee of Commerce and Industry" in France, an association of merchants and manufacturers, which started with twelve members four years ago, and was organized for the promotion of arbitration treaties with other countries, has now spread all over France and has more than seven thousand members. Having been influential in securing the Anglo-French treaty, it is now working for similar treaties with the United States and Italy.

. . . One of the influences which led to the signing of the Anglo-French Arbitration Treaty was the action of the General Councils or Departmental Assemblies of France. The Parliamentary Arbitration Group of the Chamber of Deputies consulted them on the subject, and out of eighty-seven Councils sixty declared themselves favorable. Eighteen either voted against the proposition or declined to act at all. Nine, which had not met, were not heard from.

. . . The Synod of the Vaudois Valleys, Italy, in response to a request from the Peace Committee of Torre-Pellice, has invited all its pastors to speak on peace on the first Sunday in December. Peace Sunday, which falls this year on the 20th of December, has not yet been much observed by the churches on the European continent.

. . . A great banquet was recently held in the central hall of the Coöperative Union at Milan, Italy, in the interests of Franco-Italian friendship, at which more than eight hundred of the leading citizens of Milan sat down at the tables. Among the speakers was the eminent Italian peace leader, E. T. Moneta, editor of *La Vita Internazionale*, whom the *Secolo* characterizes as "the *doyen* of the long, generous, civil and political campaign for the fraternity of peoples."

. . . In an interview with a representative of the *New York Herald* in Paris, Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant stated that negotiations were in progress for arbitration treaties between France on the one side and Italy, Holland, and Norway and Sweden on the other, similar to the Anglo-French treaty signed on the 14th of October.

. . . A dispatch from Managua, Nicaragua, under date of November 11, stated that a treaty between the Central American republics had been signed at Acajutla providing for obligatory arbitration.

. . . On the 27th of October a great public peace meeting, organized by the Peace Society, London, was held in Queen's Hall, and presided over by Leonard Courtney. Though the weather was most inclement, the attendance was good and the speeches excellent.

. . . The excellent *résumé* of the proceedings of the Rouen Peace Congress prepared by the Secretary of the International Peace Bureau was sent by him to four hundred European newspapers.

. . . The following resolution was unanimously voted at the recent State Convention of the W. C. T. U. at Denver, Colorado :

"We deplore the growing militarism in our country, and we believe it is contrary to the undercurrent of public opinion, which would educate our youth to be heroes of peace and goodwill. We rejoice at the work done the past year by the World's Court of Arbitration, and we pray for the spreading of its influence among nations."

. . . The Prime Minister of France, Mr. Combes, has announced that the project for a reduction of compulsory military service from three years to two has been practically agreed to, and will shortly become law.

. . . A memorial service to Frederick W. Holls, who did so much at the Hague Conference for the arbitration convention, was held recently at Columbia University. Ex-Ambassador White, the chairman of the American Commission to the Hague, was one of the speakers. A bust of Mr. Holls was unveiled, the gift of the German citizens of New York.

. . . There is a good deal of point in what the *New Age* says, in a note of moderate appreciation of the Anglo-French Arbitration Treaty : "But of what use are any treaties of arbitration, so long as Joseph Chamberlain flings about fire, with his talk of retaliation, and of making the foreigner pay, and teaches us to look on the foreigner as our enemy? Or as long as Lord Lansdowne talks of the 'big revolver,' and the one object of the British people seems to be to make itself feared?" The thing for our English friends to do, in support of the new treaty, is to suppress the "big revolver" and "retaliation," and the men behind them.

. . . So far as we remember, no previous peace congress gave rise to so many full and appreciative reports in journals, both weekly and monthly, as has the recent one held at Rouen. Peace is becoming known and appreciated.

. . . In an interview with a representative of the *Daily News*, W. Randal Cremer, M. P., who himself took a special part in preparing the way for the visit of the French Arbitration Deputies to the British House of Commons, says that King Edward, by his visit to Paris, had much to do with inducing the signing of the Franco-English Arbitration Treaty.

. . . We find this extraordinary information in one of our exchanges: Professor Small, head of the Department of Sociology in the University of Chicago, has recently returned from Germany with the startling announcement that we had better get ready for war, for Germany is going to fight for the commercial supremacy which she thinks is menaced by the United States. So he recommends all the peace societies to work for the increase of the American navy in order that we may have peace with Germany. The peace societies, before beginning this navy propaganda, must wait until the Professor gives them a reason or two for this astonishing prognostication, which we seem to have heard from other sources also.